1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 F16 Dorobo F1A

(3)

Forest	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurere	9	8	15	10	10	48
Kaisiyo	11	10	20	14	13	68
Kaipai	10	19	17	9	6	70
	30	37	52	33	29	186

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1939, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidoq (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.00 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *muuiseuik*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much further afield; and *imotet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.58--ANALYST]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognised offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Iet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 20 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent few talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a block of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Nandi Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dorobo now live, and it is on these farms that some of them work[6].

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of acacia thorn (acacia robusta, the flat-topped thorn-tree), as is often the case in western Kenya. Between the thorn and the forest are glades (*fovein*) affording open spaces concealed from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. At ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and mists are frequent; in the dry weather there is occasional hoar-frost in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry weather some weeks elapse before the damp disappears.

From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of outstanding value, but it is first class natural cover and an ideal home for the Dorobo who do not judge trees by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Cowat, ficus sp.
Kalat, acocanthera Schimperi.
Kipuipuat, tilia sp.
Lomoiyuat, ximenia americana.
Mindoiyuat, polygonum senegalense.
Mukuiyuat, dracaena sp.
Olkamiyuit, olea chrysophylla.
Owuat, ficus sp.
Pawuat, Dombeya sp.
Riywalat, euphorbia candelabrum.
Sapiat, podocarpus sp.
Sawuriat, musa ensete.
Sowatuat, cassia didymobotrya.
Seatuat, acacia robusta.
Sapaiilit, ficus sp.
Sawiyuat, strombosia alpina.
Tatat, juniperus procera.

When the Dorobo lived in the forest, their homesteads were reached by narrow and hardly discernable paths through the undergrowth; nowadays some of these paths are still used as approaches to honey-barrels and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two tracks only, one running from Kipkoram to Sawiyo, the other parallel to it from Kipukua to Sawiyo. These being the only through tracks, people going to Timboroa have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[6] The farms are extensive, and only their lower parts are actually occupied and worked, so that in actual fact there is an interval of 1-2 miles between the Dorobo and all signs of European activity.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

183 [221 224 182] The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Mwaisomik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iwet*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Mwaisomik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iwet*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronise*:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipiriwo	*Kipsondet*	October	
Kipsondet	*Kipsondet aiyo*	November	
Kipsondet ake	*Mulkui*	December	Mwaisomik
Mulkui	*Ngetiatet* *	January	
Ngetiatet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwet kut*	March	
Iwet kut	*Wakat*	April	
Wakat	*Ngei* *	May	
Mawut	*Rop tui*	June	Iwet
Rop tui	*Purut*	July	
Puroto	*Epeso*	August	
Yeperut	*Mulkui aiyo*	September	

132 The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 66.17, the minimum 28.61. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 2-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

121 The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This [791] weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

433 [311 325] The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, caps, baskets, and handles for tools. 439 Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

104 * Throughout this paper I have written the velar vowel by the sign ɑ, representing the "long-tailed a". In words marked * the first consonant is the velar vowel.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Appendix

Rainfall at Kapchorua Estate for Nine Years

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	Average
Jan.	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.55	1.50	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.43
Feb.	0.05	1.97	0.00	1.56	0.51	0.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.57
Mar.	1.98	0.03	7.09	0.00	0.13	3.33	0.00	0.70	0.33	1.03
Apr.	9.04	15.07	7.04	5.03	0.01	0.22	3.41	12.25	12.13	8.30
May	9.17	7.01	10.30	12.30	2.06	10.13	12.27	4.49	9.23	8.70
Jun.	2.05	2.07	5.30	2.14	4.20	5.24	8.26	2.07	6.06	5.00
Jul.	2.03	1.01	12.26	2.52	2.22	0.19	2.06	2.11	2.32	2.81
Aug.	1.00	0.12	4.00	4.70	2.15	0.68	2.12	4.21	2.56	4.04
Sep.	2.08	2.76	8.60	6.07	2.47	2.06	2.10	4.20	1.06	4.22
Oct.	2.76	2.00	2.17	2.02	2.08	2.02	0.12	2.72	2.02	2.62
Nov.	2.02	1.06	2.29	1.04	1.22	2.17	2.02	1.60	0.07	2.11
Dec.	2.22	1.29	2.06	1.00	0.09	2.70	2.07	1.04	1.22	2.29
Inches	32.90	44.17	66.17	52.54	28.61	68.71	52.89	34.89	45.72	54.09

Explanation of the Map of the Economic Divisions of the South-West Corner of the Forest

102
361
423

Area No:	Clans:	Families:	Districts:
I.	Moi	Kapkoletach	Kipokua
II.	Moi	Kapsitusi	Kipokua
IV.	Moi	Kamuru	Between Kipokua and Kipkoreon
III.	Kipsiker	Kapsingira	Ndoretoa
V.	Kipamosi	Kapcheperemita	Ndoretoa
VI.	Kapsirkai	Kaptokosi	Upper Soseiyo
VII.	Kipsiker	Kamnamotik	Upper Ngstepkoo
		Kapkipepo	
	Kapsirkai	Kapkimamosi	
	Tuiyoi	Kapkuikoi	
	Kipsiker	Kamnamotik [a].	Lower Ngstepkoo
	Kapsirkai	Kapkorongua [b]	
	Kapil	Kamerosa [b]	

[a] This high average is due to the abnormal rainfall in 1930: a more accurate average would be about 0.75 ins. I have to thank Mr. G. A. Cochrane for providing these figures.

[b] These families, represented by Tuta, Nakui, and Kilanya, are not shown on the map: their area lies east of Upper Ngstepkoo.

7:Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

part of Acholiland to the neighbouring area of Labwor in Karamoja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Acholi was found unconformable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Labwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kakamari, in Dodotho, I was accompanied by Captain P. Roney, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report refers could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance.[1] Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligman, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Sir James Frazer.

2.—KARAMOJA.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Karamoja, enclosing an area of 7,112 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the centre of the crater of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kisimekanga (also known as the Kilim or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Kituko River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Gedge; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 2° N. Latitude due south of the highest point on Kamalinga mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Labor District until it meets the southern boundary of Rudolf Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Rudolf Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until about the middle of 1930 Karamoja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Labwor, which was treated as part of the Acholi District. Karamojo is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently in the vicinity of the mountains which tend to be mainly grouped on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Rift escarpment, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are gravels carrying stone tools of a very primitive culture.[2] (Pl. XVIII, *Fig.* 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Inselberg type.[3] True caves exist, but they are not very common. They are due to weathering along joint planes, except in the Tororo hills where limestone caverns occur.

The area is decidedly a dry one, and if tradition is to be trusted is becoming steadily drier. There are no permanent rivers and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes—

[1] The Royal Anthropological Institute is also indebted to the Percy Sladen trustees for a grant towards the expenses of publication.

[2] The Stone-Age remains of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See *Ann. Rept. Geol. Surv. Uganda*, 1925.

7; Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 beer called *mes* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Loukwung*, when there [273] are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognised, as are two other seasons or months: [132] *Lowen*, a time of rain; and *Loicheto*, a time of much rain.

A form of

805 *The Calendar.*—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Loduppe.	*Loukwung.*	*Loduppe.*	*Loduppe.*	*Loukwung.*
Lomuke.	*Loduppe.*	*Loukwung.*	*Loukwung.*	*Lowen.*
Lokwe.	*Lowauk.*	*Lowauk.*	*Lowauk.*	*Loicheto.*
Lowen.	*Loicheto.*	*Loicheto.*	*Loicheto.*	*Loudunge.*
?	*Lowen.*	*Lowen.*	*Lowen.*	?
?	?			

262 *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Dodotho say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set [222] far and wide in the trees.

462 *Division of Labour.*—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

517 *Recreations.*—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

439 *Manufactures.*—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither [285] baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using [323] gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodotho in exchange for tobacco. [415] Their shields (*kesen*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*biss*) come from the Dodinga [411] country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing [352] spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Karamoja. They use headrests (*nekicholung*) of Dodotho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, [531] they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

[P.185, A]

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.[1] All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality. 132 [155] [165]

II

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show. 601 [177]

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

[1]First Ascending Generation.

(1) F., M.=*BABA, eiyo.*

(2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=*MAMA, mama.*

(3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo, BABA,* as F. and M.

(4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=*BABA, eiyo.* "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.

(5) F.Sis.=*puhot,* a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.

(6) F. Sis. H.=*konyit,* i.e. brother-in-law,

[1]So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya. [114]

[P.191, B]

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwainonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).